

# Colonial Development:

## AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY GEN'L EDW. MCCRADY

BEFORE THE

SOUTH CAROLINA SOCIETY

OF THE

Colonial Dames of America,

APRIL 26, 1897.



CHARLESTON, S. C.

LUCAS & RICHARDSON CO., BOOK AND JOB PRINTERS,

NO. 130 EAST BAY STREET,

1897.



Class F272

Book . M17



12/12/12



# COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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## FROM AN EMIGRANT CAMP TO A WELL-ORDERED STATE.

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**General Edward McCrady Addresses the Society of the Colonial Dames of South Carolina on "The Social Development of the Colony During the First Hundred Years of its Existence"—Locke's Fundamental Constitutions and the Foolish Attempt to Establish an Aristocracy and Deprive Freemen of their Rights Under the Royal Charter—Social, Political and Educational Characteristics of Life in this Province—Particular Attention Paid to Education and the Liberal Arts—The Highest Standard of Culture on this Continent—Liberality in Gifts to Northern Colleges—A Stinging Rebuke to John Bach McMaster and his Slanderous Historical Allusions to South Carolina.**

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Ladies of the Society of the Colonial Dames of South Carolina: In accepting the invitation with which you have honored me to address you upon this occasion—the first on which you commemorate the settlement of the province—I can propose for our consideration no subject more suited to the purposes of your organization than that of the social development of the colony during the first hundred years of its existence. I shall ask you to follow me then, while I briefly trace the progress of this development from its beginning in the emigrant camp on the Ashley to the time when joining the other American colonies in throwing off their dependence on the mother country South Carolina stood before the world a State—a State fully equipped for political administration, possessing great wealth, with a society already famed for its refinement, education and intellectual power; ready at once to assume a leading position in the confederacy which she

entered—a position of far more influence than was warranted by the number of her population.

When King Charles II, upon his restoration, rewarded with a grant of the province of Carolina his followers and favorites—the great Earl of Clarendon; the famous Gen George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; the old Earl of Craven, whom Macaulay describes as famous in his youth "in love and war;" Lord Berkeley—"Jack Berkeley"—to whose care His Majesty had committed His Queen in a great emergency; Anthony Cooper, Lord Ashley, the subtle and uncertain politician whom it might be wiser to please than to offend; Sir George Carteret, the last to lower the royal banner, which only he had done at the King's command; Sir John Colleton, who had spent a fortune in the King's cause; and Sir William Berkeley, who had held Virginia for his Majesty while he was in exile—it might have been supposed that

a body, composed of men of such commanding ability and great political experience, men who had been engaged in the business of making and unmaking of Kings and commonwealths, would have possessed sufficient political sagacity wisely to have provided for the founding of a great province. But such was not the result. At first, indeed, these great and wise men, to whom the grant was made because, as it was said, of their "laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith and the enlargement of his Majesty's Empire and dominion," did not seem to know what to do with the vast domain committed to their government. Besides forming themselves into a joint stock company, advertising for colonists, some feeble efforts at exploration of the coasts, appointing Sir William Berkeley, one of their number, then in Virginia, Governor, and attempting a small settlement on the Cape Fear, "that the King may see we sleep not on his grant," they did nothing until 1663, when Lord Ashley assumed a leading part.

#### THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

It so happened that at this time the great philosopher, John Locke, was living with Lord Ashley, at Exeter house, his lordship's London residence, as his private secretary, and to him Lord Ashley committed the work of drawing up a scheme of government for the province they owned. Of the result of the philosopher's labors, supported as it was by Ashley, now become the Earl of Shaftesbury, it is difficult to speak with moderation. Recollecting Shaftesbury's genius and his character it is scarcely more possible to believe that he really approved of this preposterous production than that he really credited the extravagant lies of Oates, in which he also professed belief. But however that may be, under his influence Locke's famous "Fundamental Constitutions," as they were styled, were gravely and solemnly adopted by the Proprietors at a meeting at the Cock Pit in July, 1669. This most extraordinary scheme of setting up an aristocratic government in a colony of adventurers, in the wild woods amidst savages and wild beasts, began with a recital that it was to be made agreeable to monarchy, and "to avoid erecting a numerous democracy."

The royal charter constituted the province a county palatine—a term derived from (Comes Palatii,) a title formerly given to some great dignity of the royal household, and becoming the title of a Governor of some local district with the authority and privileges of vice royalty. The first thing to be determined, therefore, was who should be the palatine. To do this the first clause of the Constitution provided that the eldest of the Lords Proprietors should be invested with this vice regal dignity. Then they provided for some other great officers: an admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief justice, high steward and treasurer. These offices were to be enjoyed by none but the Lords Proprietors. Having thus provided for each an office of high sounding dignity, they seized upon a clause in their charter which is found in one or two earlier charters, but which

had never been thought applicable to the beginning of a colony, namely, that which empowered the Proprietors to confer upon such of the inhabitants of the province such marks of favor and titles of honor as they should think fit—to provide for a provincial nobility. The whole province was to be divided into counties; each county into eight signories; eight baronies and four precincts; each precinct into six colonies. Each signory, barony and colony was to consist of 12,000 acres; the eight signories to be the shares of the eight Proprietors; the eight baronies, the shares of the nobility; both of which shares, being each of them one-fifth of the whole, were to be perpetually annexed the one to the Proprietors, and the other to the hereditary nobility, leaving the colonies, consisting of three-fifths shares, to the people, so that in setting out and planting the lands, as they sententiously observed "the balance of the government may be preserved."

#### LANDGRAVES AND CACIQUES.

Besides the Proprietors the nobility was to consist of Landgraves and Caciques. These terms were chosen because by the provision of the charter the titles bestowed were to be unlike those of England. The title Landgrave was borrowed from the old German Court, and that of Cacique from the style of the Indian chief of America. There were to be as many Landgraves as there were counties, and twice as many Caciques and no more. These were to constitute the hereditary nobility of the province, and by right of their dignity to be members of Parliament. Each Landgrave was to have four baronies and each Cacique two baronies hereditarily and unalterably annexed to and settled upon the dignity. It was provided that "in every signory, barony and manor all the free men shall be under the jurisdiction of the respective Lords of the said signory, barony or manor, without appeal from him." Who were to be free men was not declared.

We have not time to follow further the provisions of this remarkable scheme except to observe that in preparing and adopting them the Proprietors appear to have been oblivious of the essential fact that under the royal charter, by which alone they could prescribe constitutions, and laws for the province, such laws could only be enacted "by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said province." Was it likely that such freemen would ever consent to transfer the rights which had been secured them by the royal charter to an aristocracy, over whom they could have no control?

The whole scheme was visionary, crude, incomplete, impracticable and ridiculous. For a province yet to be settled in which society must build itself up from its very foundation, at first at least, beginning in its simplest and rudest forms, an artificial, elaborate and intricate system was provided, among the regulations for which it was deemed opportune to establish a Court of herals with powers to regulate fashions, games and sports!

#### LORDS PROPRIETORS ORGANIZE.

Having determined upon this model of a government, the Proprietors met again at the Cock Pit, on the 29th October, 1669, and proceeded to organize under it. The Earl of Clarendon was in exile, already

deserted by his royal master, so the Duke of Albemarle was chosen the first Palatine, the Earl of Craven the first high constable, the Lord Berkeley the first Chancellor, Lord Ashley the first Chief Justice, Sir George Carteret the first admiral, Sir John Colleton was already dead, and so his son, Sir Peter, was made the first high steward. The next step was to provide the means of starting this grand scheme in operation. So they entered into an agreement that each should contribute £500, to be laid out in shipping arms, ammunition, tools and provisions for a settlement at Port Royal, and £200 per annum for the next four years. A fleet of three ships was purchased, and laden with stores sufficient, as it was thought, for planting a colony of two hundred people, a number which was supposed to be strong enough for self-protection and to make a permanent settlement.

The fleet was dispatched, not directly across the Atlantic, but was sent first all the way down to Barbadoes, which lies, you know, but a little north of Venezuela, South America. There it was to receive a large addition, and to be sent back to the coast of Carolina. At Barbadoes it met with disaster. One of the vessels, the Albemarle, was lost in a gale and both the other vessels, the Carolina and the Port Royal, were injured. Supplying the place of the lost ship with another, the fleet again set sail for Bermuda, but on the way the Port Royal was cast away on one of the Bahama islands. Obtaining another vessel at Bermuda the emigrants again set sail for the province they were to colonize. The Carolina was the only one of the original fleet to reach this coast. The colonists first landed on the 17th of March, 1670. This landing was at Sewee, Bull's Bay. Thence they coasted along to Port Royal, where they were instructed to settle; but the Indians there being hostile, they finally settled down, probably some time in April, on the west bank of the Ashley at the place until but recently familiarly known as "Old Town."

#### THE BEGINNING OF CHARLESTON.

Greater incongruity can scarcely be conceived than that which existed between this little emigrant band that landed on the Ashley and the grand fundamental constitutions which they brought out with them as the plan and model of the government they were to establish. We have a list of the passengers on the Carolina, the only one of the original fleet to arrive. In the list of the ninety-three who came out in this vessel sixteen were masters, bringing out with them sixty-three servants, and thirteen persons without servants. The rest of the emigrants, those in the other vessels, were doubtless of the same character.

Sir John Yeamans, whose father, an alderman of Bristol, had been beheaded during the revolution in England, and who himself had been knighted for his loyalty to the King in Barbadoes, was expected to have come out from that island with the colony, and a commission had been sent him as Governor to be used with his own name or that of such other person as he should appoint. He went from Barbadoes with the colony as far as Bermuda, but there abandoned it, appointing William Sayle, of Bermuda, an old sea captain and a Puritan, as the Governor of a colony

charged with establishing the Church of England as "the only true and orthodox and the natural religion of all the King's domains." It was a hard set which the good, but bigoted, old man had to control, and for which he had only the Fundamental Constitutions and a system of temporary laws, scarcely less absurd, as his guide. While Governor Sayle and other leaders of the colony were doubtless men of strong religious character, the company generally was composed of adventurers of the ordinary type—men no doubt of irreligious and reckless lives. And so we read that on the 4th July, the Governor and Council having been informed how much the Sabbath day was profanely violated, and of divers grand abuses practiced by the people to the great dishonor of Almighty God and destruction of good neighborhood, took seriously into consideration by what means these evils might be redressed. And here the absurdity of the grand model of government with which they had come encumbered, and the inadequacy and unsuitableness of their powers, even under the instructions to the Governor and Council, became apparent. The Governor, Puritan as he was said to have been, writes, in June, begging the Proprietors to send them a minister, "a Godly and orthodox minister," and particularly asks for one "Mr Sampson Bond, heretofore of long standing in Exeter College, in Oxford, and ordained by the late Bishop of Exeter, the ole Do'r Joseph Hall." And Florence O'Sullivan and Stephen Bull and others again unite in September, in a letter urging the great want of an able minister by whose means corrupted youth might be reclaimed and the people instructed. "The Israelites' prosperity decayed," they said, "when their prophets were wanting, for where the Ark of God is there is peace and tranquillity."

#### GLIMPSES OF EARLY SOCIETY.

Before Courts were regularly established the Governor and Council, besides acting in their legislative capacities, administered rough justice in the colony; and from fragments of the journals which have come down to us we catch some glimpses of the state of society during the first two years of its existence. For instances—we find the Council hearing a controversy by John Norton and Original Jackson against Mr Maurice Mathews, Mr Thomas Gray and Mr William Owens, and deciding that John Norton and Original Jackson shall have sixteen pieces of cedar timber desired, and one piece more claimed by Messrs Mathews, Gray and Owens.

Then Capt Lieut Robert Donne, who had come out on the Carolina as a servant to Stephen Bull, has a suit against Mr Henry Hughes, whereupon it was ordered that Henry Hughes should pay one bushel of corn to the said Robert Donne for his labor and pains on the said Henry Hughes's plantation. And considering how industrious and useful Richard Rowser and Philip Jones, servants to John Maverick, had been to the colony, to each of them was given ten acres of land. And so on, the Grand Council arbitrate matters and settle disputes. But here we have a sad case on the criminal side of the Court. Mr Henry Hughes comes before the Council and makes complaint against Thomas Screman, gent. "For that the said Thomas Screman, upon the — day of October,

1671, at Charles Towne, in this province, did feloniously take and carry away from the said Henry Hughes one turkey cock of the price of ten pence, of lawful English money, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord, the King," etc. The Council proceeded to try Thomas Sereman, gent, on this charge, and found him guilty, and thereupon passed this sentence: "And it is, therefore, ordered by the said Grand Council, that the said Sereman shall be stripped naked to his waist and receive nine lashes, a whip for that use provided, upon his naked back by the hand of John Oldys, who is adjudged by the Grand Council to be stripped naked to his waist to perform the same, for that the said John Oldys, knowing of the felonious act after it was committed, aided the said Sereman, and endeavored to conceal the offence." But worse and worse! They found that Capt Lieut Donne, in whose favor they had just decreed a bushel of corn, was also guilty of "comforting, aiding and assisting the said Sereman to commit the fact," and thereupon they ordered him to appear at the head of the company whereof he was captain lieutenant with a sword on, which the marshal should take away from him, and he be cashiered from having any further command in the said company." Capt Lieut Donne was not long in disgrace, however, for we find him six months after made a full captain and sent upon an expedition against the Indians.

#### COLONISTS FROM BARBADOES.

It happened that just about the time of the founding of the province of Carolina there was quite a movement from Barbadoes. Trouble about the land titles, overcrowded population, exhaustion of the soil, and repeated hurricanes, caused quite an exodus from that island to Carolina and Jamaica. Sir John Yeamans and the Colletons secured a considerable part of this emigration to this province. This Barbadian influence was most potent in the formation of the society of Carolina. These people brought with them a colonial society, already greatly developed. They were not like the emigrants direct from England, new to colonial life, and new also to the rule and management of negro slaves. To colonial ways they were accustomed, and they brought with them the laws and customs of Barbadoes with regard to slaves. The peculiar parish system, which existed until the late war, was derived entirely from this source. Our earliest statutes in many instances were but copies of those of that island. This is particularly true of our slave codes. The English colonists who came out with Sayle were very jealous of this influence. Besides a small number of Dutch from Nova Belgia, or New York, these were the only elements of population during the first ten years of the colony, while its seat was at "Old Town" on the Ashley.

In 1689 the first of the Huguenots came out under Petit and Grinand, and upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1686, many more. Then in 1685 a very considerable number of Dissenters came, under Blake, Morton and Axtell. There can be no doubt that these last comers, Huguenots and Dissenters, were, as a class, men of higher character than those who had come out under West and Sayle. They were exiles for religion sake, and not

mere adventurers, seeking to better their fortunes. In this little colony there were assembled representatives of all the passions and animosities which had distracted England for the last half century. These emigrants had changed their skies, but not their minds, and the controversies of the old country were all renewed here in miniature.

#### A BAD TIME THE WORLD OVER.

I cannot picture to myself that this province was a pleasant place to have lived in during the first thirty years of its existence. The colony was an outpost planted to assert the right of England to disputed territory, and hence it lived in constant dread of Spanish and French invasion and the tomahawk of the Indian, while its coast was plundered by pirates, and within it was in one continual political turmoil. But would the colonists have been happier elsewhere? Would the Scots who were raided and slaughtered by the Spaniards at Port Royal have been more secure in their native land, while Claverhouse was harrying the hills and mess-hag and slaying the Covenanters there? Would the Huguenots on the Santee have been more peaceful in France under the dragonade which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes? Were the Indian tortures any more cruel than those inflicted upon the Covenanters in Scotland and Huguenots in France? For instance, did Lawson, whom the Indians stuck all over with pine splinters, which they set on fire, die a more agonizing death, think you, than those who expired in the presence of the Privy Council of Scotland upon "the extreme question" under the rack, the thumb-screw and the boot? or than the Huguenots in France who were tortured at slow fires by roasting their hands and feet? Would Blake, Morton and Axtell have been more content under James had they remained in England? Would even the churchmen have been safe from the perjured accusations of Titus Oates in the Court over which Jeffries and Scruggs presided? Would any have been more safe in Massachusetts, where they may have been burned for witchcraft? or in Virginia, where they may have been hung in Bacon's rebellion by Governor Berkeley, one of the Proprietors of Carolina? No! Those were the days of fanaticism and cruelty everywhere.

There is no dull page in the history of these times in Carolina. It was all movement and life. First there was the long controversy over the attempted enforcement of the absurd Fundamental Constitutions, and then over the Church Acts. But all the while the colony was steadily, if slowly, improving and becoming a compact body of society.

At the opening of the new century we must cease, says Rivers, to look upon South Carolina as the home of indigent emigrants struggling for subsistence. While numerous slaves cultivated the extensive plantations, their owners, educated gentlemen, had abundant leisure for social intercourse, living, as they did, in proximity to each other and easy access to Charles Town, where the Governor resided, the Courts and the Legislature convened, and the public offices were kept. The road which led from the fortified town between the two broad rivers—known as the Great Path (what is now King street



road)—so enchanted Governor Archdale that he believed no prince in Europe, with all his art, could make a walk for the whole year round so pleasant and beautiful. From the road to the right and left avenues of oaks in mossy festoons, and in springtime redolent with jessamines, gave the passer-by glimpses of handsome residences. Hospitality, refinement and literary culture distinguished the higher class of gentlemen.

#### BRIDGE TOWN AND CHARLES TOWN.

We have some slight sketches of the manners of the times at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It happens that we have two almost contemporaneous accounts, one of Barbadoes and one of Carolina, and from these it is easy to observe the similarity of the manner of living in the two places, and then of ascertaining whence that of Carolina was derived. Pere Labat, a French missionary, visited Barbadoes about the same time as Lawson, the adventurer among the Indians, first visited Charles Town. Oldmixon, doubtless following Labat, says that the masters, merchants and planters in Barbadoes lived like little sovereigns in their plantations; they had their servants of the household and those of the field; their tables were spread every day with a variety of nice dishes, and their attendants were more numerous than many of the nobility in England; their equipages were rich; their liveries fine, and horses the same; their chaises and all the conveniences of travelling magnificent. The most wealthy of them, besides their land teams, had their pleasure boats to make the tour of the island in, and sloops to carry their goods to and from the Bridge, i. e., Bridge Town. Their dress and that of their ladies was fashionable and costly, and, having been generally bred in London, their behavior was genteel and polite; in which, says the author, they had the advantage of most of the country gentlemen of England, who, living at a distance from London, frequented the world very little, and from carousing with their dogs, horses and rude peasants, acquired an air suitable to their society. The gentlemen of Barbadoes were civil, generous, hospitable and very sociable. In short, says Oldmixon, the inhabitants of Barbadoes live as plentifully and some of them as luxuriantly as any in the world. They have everything that is requisite for pomp and luxury.

Lawson found no such brilliant jewelers' and silversmiths' shops in Charles Town as Labat did in Bridge Town, for Barbadoes was much older and as yet much richer than Carolina; but the society they describe is the same. The merchants of Carolina, says Lawson, are fair and frank traders. The gentlemen seated in the country are very courteous, live very nobly in their houses and give very genteel entertainments to all strangers and others that come to visit them. Both seem equally struck with the well disciplined militia, especially the cavalry. In Bridge Town a review was held for Pere Labat, in which five hundred gentlemen turned out, admirably mounted and armed. Lawson says that the horsemen in Carolina are mostly gentlemen, and well mounted, and the best in America. Their officers, both infantry and cavalry, generally appear in scarlet mountings, and as rich as

in most regiments belonging to the Crown, which, he observes, shows the richness and grandeur of the colony.

#### LANDGRAVE SMITH'S COURTING DAYS.

There is, on the other hand, a tradition coming, it is said, from the second Landgrave Smith, of a much more simple state of society. In his courting days, which we may assume to have been the last years of the century, he said young girls received their beaux at 3 o'clock, having dined at 12, expecting them to withdraw about 6, as many families retired to bed at 7 in the winter, and seldom extended their sitting in the summer beyond 8 o'clock, their fathers having learned to obey the curfew toll in England. The rooms in those days, from his account, were all uncarpeted, the rough sides of the apartments remained the natural color of whatever wood the house chanced to be built of. Rush bottomed chairs were usual. It must be remembered, however, that Landgrave Smith belonged to the party in which the stiff and rigid morals of the Puritans were cultivated, and Hewatt tells us these were made the object of ridicule by their neighbors. In all probability the people were as much divided in their habits and manners as in their politics, and the division ran along the same lines of Churchmen and Puritans.

If Ramsay's statement that the early settlers had no sooner provided shelter and the necessities of life than they adopted measures for promoting the moral and literary improvement of themselves, and particularly the rising generation, is somewhat strained and overdrawn, it is nevertheless remarkable that notwithstanding the constant political turmoil, the continued apprehensions of war and actual and repeated invasions of the province, so much was conceived and attempted in these respects. But few of the first settlers, as may well be supposed, brought with them wives or children. The necessity for schools, therefore, did not begin for some years after the founding of the colony. But before the seventeenth century had closed the number of children began to demand schools and religious instruction.

#### EARLY ATTENTION TO EDUCATION.

Lawson states that from the fact that the people lived in a town they had drawn "ingenious people of most sciences whereby they had tutors among them that educated their youth a la mode." "A free school," as it was called, was established in 1711, with the assistance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This school, it is true, was not altogether a free school, for only a limited number of scholars were educated without pay. But still it was an attempt in that direction. This school, in connection with St Philip's Church, was maintained until the Revolution.

#### FIRST PUBLIC LIBRARY IN AMERICA.

That many of the colonists were educated and accustomed to literary pursuits there is abundant evidence. Indeed as early as 1698, but thirty-five years after the first charter of the province, but twenty-eight after founding of the colony, and thirty-two years before Franklin formed "The Junto" and debating

society out of which grew the Philadelphia library, which he claimed to be the mother of all American subscription libraries, a free public library had been established in Charles Town. This is believed to have been the first public library in America.

The people of Carolina never accepted the Fundamental Constitutions, and so never having the proper formal sanction those laws were never constitutionally of force. But it is undoubtedly true that their partial enforcement had a most decided effect upon the institutions of the colony and impressed upon the people and their customs and habits the tone and temper of that instrument. The province was in fact, to a considerable extent, laid out in seignories, baronies and colonies, and landgraves and caciques were actually appointed and took possession of these signories and baronies. Some tracts of land are still called baronies and bear the names then given them. But large tracts of unprofitable lands could not well sustain the dignity of a landgrave or cacique and quit-rents were hard to follow. So, though intended to be perpetually annexed to these grand titles, they were soon sold piecemeal to commoners.

#### PROSPEROUS TIMES: 1728-1763.

The Proprietary Government was overthrown in 1719, but it was not until near ten years after that the Royal Government was fully established. Then followed the days of prosperity. The years that elapsed between 1728 and 1763, says Mr Justice Johnson, in his work upon the life of Greene, were years of unprecedented prosperity. The increase of population was immense, and in the enjoyment of unexampled happiness the people became gay, polished and devoted to hospitality. Among those who passed the meridian of life during that period it was always affectionately remembered by the appellation of "the good old times." Society, he observes, was at that time precisely in that state which is most favorable to the enjoyment of life. The luxuries of the day were within the reach of a moderate fortune, and few cared, he said, to be elevated above one common level. Hence social happiness was not disturbed by the workings of envy or the haughty demeanor of upstart pride.

The first and second Georges, says Ramsay, were nursing fathers to the province, and performed to it the full orbed duty of Kings, and their paternal care was returned with the most ardent love and affection of their subjects in Carolina. The colonists enjoyed the protection of Great Britain and in return she had a monopoly of their trade. The mother country received great benefits from this intercourse, and the colony under her protecting care became great and happy. The people were fond of British manners, even to excess. To such an extent was their prejudice carried that Drayton adds they could not imagine that elsewhere than in England anything of advantage could be obtained. They were not satisfied—it was said, but which I very much doubt—unless the very bricks with which their houses were built were brought from England. Though unsuited to the climate, they modelled their houses after the houses in London, and English country seats. Their furniture and carriage horses and chairs or coaches

must all be imported. In vain did the coach makers in Charlestown advertise in the Gazette that they could build as good. The tailors and milliners brought out the fashions from London. On February, 1751, a peruke maker from St James, London, advertises his arrival and that he has taken a shop in Broad street, where he intends to follow his business, and has brought over with him a choice assortment of English hair, and other materials belonging to his business, and he promises both ladies and gentlemen that their business will be done according to the best and newest fashions, and that they shall be fitted to the greatest nicety, and that the wigs shall never shrink on the fore-top parts or come down, and he promises the ladies that their "totes" shall be made in such perfect imitation of their own hair that it will be difficult to discover any difference.

The households were organized on the English model, except in so far as it was modified by the institution of slavery, which modification was chiefly in the number of servants.

#### COLONIAL HOUSEHOLD SLAVES.

In every well-regulated planter's household there were three high positions, the objects of ambition of all the negroes on the plantation. These were the butler, the coachman and the patroon. The butler was chief of all about the mansion, usually the oldest negro man servant on the premises; his head was often white, the contrast of which with his dark skin was striking and added much to the dignity which it was always his care and pride to maintain. His manners were formed upon those of the best of the society in which his master moved, and, with all, he possessed greater ease than is usual in a white man occupying a similar position. He became an authority upon matters of table etiquette and was quick to detect the slightest breach of it. He considered it a part of his duty to advise and lecture the young people of the family upon the subject. He often had entire charge of the pantry and store room keys and was faithful to his trust. He was somewhat of a judge, too, of the cellar, but there are stories that show it was scarcely safe to allow him free access to its contents. The coachman, to the boys of the family at least, was scarcely less a character than the butler. He had entire charge of the home stables, and took the utmost pride in the horse-manship of his young masters, to whom he gave the first lessons in riding. The butler might be the greatest man at home, but he had never the glory of driving the family coach and four down the "Great Path" to town and through its streets. The oldest plantations were all upon the rivers; indeed a water front and landing was an essential to such an establishment, for it must have the perriquet for plantation purposes, and the trim sloop and large express canoe for the master's use. So, besides the master of the horse, the coachman, there was a naval officer, too, to each planter's household, and he was called the patroon—a name no doubt brought from the West Indies. The patroon had charge of the boats, and the sounding of his horn upon the river told the family of his master's coming from town. He, too, trained the boat hands

to the oar and taught them the plaintive, humorous, happy catches which they sang as they bent to the stroke, and for which the mother of the family often strained her ear to catch the first sound which told of the safe return of her dear ones. Each of these had his underlings over whom he lorded it in imitation of his master. The house was full, too, of maids and seamstresses of all kinds, who kept the mistress busy, if only to find employment for so many hands.

Outside of the household the "driver" was the great man. Under his master's rule he was absolute. He was too great a man to work himself, and if the master was anybody—that is, if the plantation was of respectable size, with a decent number of hands, he must have a horse to ride, for how else could he oversee all his people? The driver was the executive officer. He received his orders from his master and he carried them out. He did all the punishing. He was responsible for the administration of the plantation.

A plantation was a community in itself. It had its necessary artisans. There must be carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, tailors and shoemakers. Then there was a hospital for the sick, and a house for the children while the mothers were at work. All these required thorough organization and complete system. There were no doubt many and great evils inseparable from the institution of slavery; but these were reduced to a minimum on a well-ordered Carolina plantation. Generally the slaves were contented and happy, and shared in the prosperity which their labors on the new rice fields were bringing to their masters.

#### A LOVER OF HORSES.

The Carolinian, like a true Englishman, was devoted to field sports. He rode from his infancy. Attempts have been made to show that horses were natives of America, and plausible arguments have been adduced to establish the fact, but Bartram, the best authority, informs us that the horse was not originally found in the possession of the Indians. Wherever introduced on the coast by the colonists horses multiplied rapidly, deteriorating, however, in size. In the low-country, and especially on the sea islands, a race was produced known as "marsh tacks," which when bred with fresh stock from England, made the most superb riding horses. Great attention was paid to the breeding of these horses. The finest stock was imported from England for the purpose. They were trained to two gaits—the canter and the walk—and in these they were unsurpassed. The trot and pace were seldom used. These saddle horses were excellent hunters, and though but of medium size would seldom hesitate to take a six-rail fence at a leap. The boys and girls learned to ride upon the tacks, which were usually not more than ponies in size. The low-country was not suited to the chase. It was too much cut up with marshy creeks and swamps to allow a long run. The great sport was deer hunting. There was a hunting club in St. Andrew's Parish as early as 1761. The club house still stands on the grounds of the church. The members brought their hounds and guns there, once a month on club days, and in turn provided the entertainment.

#### HORSE RACING IN 1734.

The Carolinians were fond of horse racing. As early as February, 1734, we find in the Gazette a notice of a race for a saddle and bridle, valued at £20, as the prize—mile heats. This race took place on a green on Charlestown neck. The course was staked out for the occasion. In the following year, 1735, owners of horses were invited, through the Gazette, to enter them for a purse of £100. This year a course was laid out at the Quarter House, about six miles from the town, to which the name was given of the York course, after that in England which was then attaining celebrity as a race ground. From year to year racing was continued over the York course, either in the month of February or the beginning of March, the prize generally being a silver bowl or a silver waiter or a salver, about the value of £100 currency, probably from \$75 to \$100 of our present money. Silver, in some form, continued to be the prize and the plate of many families in the colony was considerably increased by the prizes won on the turf. The York course proved to be too far from the town, so a new course was established in 1754, and laid out on what is still known as the Blake lands. It was announced to the public as the New Market course, about a mile from the town. Races took place there for the first time on the 19th February, 1760, under the proprietorship of Mr. Thomas Nightingale. From this time an increased interest was manifested in the sports of the turf. Races were announced to take place in various sections. In 1763 there were races at Jacksonborough, in 1769 at Ferguson's Ferry and at Beaufort, and soon after at Childsburry and Strawberry. The races at the last named place were kept up by Mr. Daniel Ravenel and the Harlestons. The principal importers and breeders of race horses appear to have been Thomas Nightingale, Daniel Ravenel, Edward and Nicholas Harleston, Francis Huger and Williams Middleton. Josiah Quincy, in his journal in 1773, when he "happened" to be in Carolina for his health, which, however, was strong enough, I observe, to have allowed him to go everywhere and to take notes of the political opinions of the hour in this province, gave quite an interesting account of his visit to the races in Charlestown in that year.

But malaria drove the planter to town or to some summer retreat every spring before the blossom of the highly-scented magnolia had fairly opened, and there he remained with his family until the next hard frost, visiting his plantation from week to week, usually in his well-manned canoe, which the patron brought for him. These collections of planters and their families during the summer months produced a society of wealth and leisure and formed habits of city life. For such a society amusements and entertainments, grave and trivial, must be provided.

#### MUSIC IN COLONIAL DAYS.

The people were as fond of indoor amusements as of field sports, and music was cultivated at a very early period. The Gazette of the 15th February, 1733, announces that "at the Council Chamber on Monday, the 26th instant, will be a consort"—(preserving the old spelling a little later than

usual)—“of vocal and instrumental music. Tickets to be had at Mr Cook’s and Mr Sautrean’s, at 40 S. N. B.—None but English and Scotch songs.” The next year a similar advertisement appears for a “concert” on the 19th of February, (1734,) with a note that it would begin at 6 o’clock. The “concert” was repeated this year on the 18th of December, and in January and March following two more were given. These were advertised for the benefit of Mr Slater and tickets were to be had of Mr Stephen Bedon and Mr Roper, in Broad street. This 1735 was a gay year, notwithstanding that the good Governor, Robert Johnson, died and was buried in St Philip’s, near the chancel.

#### A THEATRE BEFORE 1735.

There were not only concerts, but a new theatre was opened. And this leads us to point out that there was then a theatre in Charleston even before 1735. In the Gazette of February, 1735, we find an advertisement: “At the New Theatre, Queen street, will be acted on Monday next, a tragedy called ‘The Orphan, or the Unhappy Marriage.’” There must then have been a theatre before this new one opened in 1735, and that theatre was undoubtedly the first theatre in the American colonies, the next being in 1749 in Philadelphia. On the 28th (February, 1735,) there is announced: “By the desire of the troop and foot companies, at the New Theatre, in Queen street, will be acted on Tuesday next a comedy called ‘The Recruiting Officer,’ with several entertainments, as will be expressed in the hand bills.” For March, the 12th: “The London Merchant, or the History of George Barnwell,” is advertised. By the end of 1735 society had advanced from the concert stage to that of a public hall. On the 23d of November we find in the Gazette this notice: “At the Court room, on Monday, 15th of December next, will be a ball, to begin at 5 o’clock. No person admitted but by printed ticket. Henry Hall, Master.” There was no society reporter in those days, so we have no account of how long the ball, which began at 5 o’clock, lasted. Landgrave Smith must have had the fixing of the hours. In January, 1737, is advertised to be performed “The Tragedy of Cato, written by the late Mr Addison with a prologue by Mr Pope.” “Tickets to be had at Mr Charles Sheppard’s, stage and balcony boxes 39 shillings; pit 25 shillings; gallery 5 shillings. To begin exactly at 6 o’clock.” From this time on we find concerts, theatrical performances and balls constantly occurring until May 23, 1771, when the Gazette announces that the American Company of Comedians finished their campaign here on Friday last, having acted fifty-eight plays from the 23d of December last, a list of which it promised to insert in its next issue, and accordingly on the 29th it has quite a long review of the theatrical performances of this company, which, it says, were warmly concurred in and supported by the public. In the catalogue of pieces performed during this time we find all the standard plays of the day. Of Shakespeare’s they presented “Hamlet,” “Romeo and Juliet,” “Merchant of Venice,” “Richard III,” “Henry IV,” “Othello,” “King Lear,” “Julius Caesar,” “Macbeth” and “King John.” Of others “The Mourning Bride,”

“She Stoops to Conquer,” “Beggars’ Opera,” “West Indian,” “Fair Penitent,” “Tempest.”

#### ORIGIN OF THE ST CECILIA SOCIETY.

On the 5th November, 1737, the Gazette announces that at the New Theatre, on Queen street, on Thursday, the 12th, being St Cecilia’s Day, will be performed a concert of vocal and instrumental music. This was probably the origin of the St Cecilia Society, which was not formally organized, however, until 1762. Josiah Quincy, on his visit in 1773, before referred to, attended a concert by this Society, and in his journal gives us quite a pleasant sketch of the society he met. He describes the concert hall as a large, inelegant building situated down a yard. At the entrance he was met by a constable with his staff. To this officer he offered his ticket, which was subscribed by Mr David Deas, who had given it to him. He was directed to proceed by the officer and was next met by a white waiter, who directed him to a third, to whom he delivered his ticket, and was conducted in. The music, he says, was good—the bass viols and French horns were grand. He tells of one Abercrombie, a Frenchman—curious name for a Frenchman—just arrived, who played the first violin and solo incomparably better than anyone he had ever heard. So rich was the Society that the violinist, who could not speak a word of English, had a salary from it of five hundred guineas. Mr Quincy gives a very interesting account of the entertainment. There were, he says, two hundred and fifty ladies present, and it was called no great number. In loftiness of the head dresses, he says, these ladies stoop to the daughters of the North; in richness of dress surpass them. In taciturnity during the performances, greatly before our ladies; in noise and flirtation after the music is over, pretty much on a par. “If our ladies,” he writes, “have any advantages it is in white and red, vivacity and spirit. The gentlemen, many of them, dressed with richness and elegance uncommon with us; many with swords on.” Lord Charles Greville Montague, the Governor, who was to sail the next day for London, was present to bid farewell to the people, among whom, notwithstanding their political differences, he had many personal friends, to whom he was no doubt much attached. Mr Quincy was presented to his Excellency by Mr Deas and to Chief Justice Gordon and two of the assistant Judges, recently arrived from England, who were thus received by the Society, though there was much soreness upon the subject by reason of their being sent to fill places of honor which of right belonged to the many worthy men in the province. I need not tell this audience that the St Cecilia Society has since had a continuous existence to this day. In the Act incorporating it in 1784 is recited that its members by voluntary contributions had raised a considerable fund and collected a number of musical instruments, books and other property for the purpose of encouraging the liberal science of music. Is it not a pity that it has lost its musical character?

#### SOCIAL AND CHARITABLE SOCIETIES.

Social and charitable societies were almost coeval with the Royal Government;

and in almost every instance, education was a part of their work. Both Hewatt and Ramsay mention the South Carolina Society, in whose hall we are now assembled, as the oldest, but there were three others before it. The St Andrew's Club, which soon after became the present St Andrew's Society, was founded in 1729. We find in the Gazette of 25th April, 1735, a notice that "on Monday last (i. e., 23d) was established the 'St George's Society,' in honor of the patron of England, and John Bayly was chosen president, and at night they had an elegant supper at the house of Mr Robert Raper." There was a Welch club, but we know nothing more of it than a notice in the Gazette of rather an uproarious meeting on St David's Day, 1735, upon which occasion some members fired off guns after dark, contrary to law. The South Carolina Society was first organized in 1736, under the name of the French Club, sometimes called the Two Bit Club. It was the club of the Huguenots. In 1751 it was incorporated as the South Carolina Society. Its history and good works are familiar to us all. The Wingah Indigo Society, formed about the year 1749, though not incorporated until 1756, was originally a social club, which met once a month to discuss the latest news from London and the culture of indigo. But upon the abandonment of the culture of indigo the work was wholly confined to education.

#### EARLY CARE FOR THE INSANE.

The Fellowship Society deserves particular notice. It was begun on the 4th April, 1762, that day being a Sunday, but it was no desecration of the Lord's day, for it truly had good works for its object. Its original purpose was that of founding an infirmary or hospital for the reception of lunatics, and other distempered and sick persons in the province. It was incorporated in 1769 and had then collected by small contributions from time to time a considerable sum of money. There had been but one attempt before this to make provision for the insane, and that was the establishment of a separate ward for such persons in the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1752. This Society also had its school. Later, 1777, the Mount Zion Society was established for the purpose of providing a school in the Camden District, at what is now Winnsboro, and in the same year the St David's Society, in the Old Cheraw, for a similar purpose, and the next year the Catholic Society, for the same purpose, in the Wateree. All these societies accumulated large funds, almost all of which were destroyed during the late war.

#### MUTUAL INSURANCE IN 1735.

Societies were formed also for other than social, charitable and educational purposes. It has been claimed that the first American fire insurance company was organized in Philadelphia in 1752, to wit, "The Philadelphia Contributorship for the Insurance of Houses Against Losses by Fire," at the head of the directors of which appeared the name of Benjamin Franklin. But this is a mistake. As early as the 13th of December, 1735, a notice appears in the South Carolina Gazette that gentlemen who are willing to enter a society for the mutual insurance of their houses against fire are desired to meet at the house of William Pinckney, on the Bay, on Tuesday next, at 5 o'clock on the afternoon to carry out the design. On the 3d

of February the company was organized under the name of the Friendly Society. John Fenwicke, Samuel Wiagg and Charles Pinckney were chosen directors. John Crookatt and Henry Peronneau, merchants, (sic) Gabriel Mangault, treasurers, G. Van Velsen and John Laurens, firemasters. This, it will be observed, was seventeen years before the organization of the Philadelphia company.

There were fashionable taverns—not saloons or bar rooms—but old fashioned English taverns, where entertainments were had, and which gentlemen of leisure frequented. Mr Dillon's, at the corner of Church and Broad, "The Corner," as it was called, and Mrs Poinsett's, on the Bay, were the chief of these. It was to them that the processions from the Liberty Tree in honor of Wilkes, and the Massachusetts Anti-Rescinders marched, and there the men went to refresh themselves, and there they met to discuss the affairs of the day.

Mr Horace E. Scudder, in his report of the bureau of education, United States, in 1876, on "Public Libraries a Hundred Years Ago," observes that the idea of a free public library could hardly find acceptance until the idea of free public education had become familiar to men's minds, and the libraries existing at the time of the Revolution were necessarily representative of the existing state of public opinion on the subject of culture. They were, he says, with scarce an exception either connected directly with institutions of learning or the growth of associations of gentlemen having tastes or interests in common. Under this last the colonists of South Carolina claim a high position for education and culture. We have seen that before the beginning of the eighteenth century, before Franklin had begun the foundation of his subscription library, such a library had already been attempted in Charlestown, and was actually existing before 1700, and continued to exist and to be cared for until 1712, when an Act was passed for its further preservation, but how long preserved we cannot tell, as we have no further record or mention of it.

#### THE CHARLESTON LIBRARY SOCIETY.

But in the year 1748 some young gentlemen, by contributing among themselves, imported a few books, and associated themselves for the purpose of raising a small fund to collect new pamphlets published in Great Britain. It will be recollected that political writings were then almost entirely confined to pamphlets. It was in pamphlets that Addison and Steele fought for the Whigs and Swift for the Tories. Dr Johnson's political tracts and some of Edmund Burke's most valued writings are contained in such papers. The troubles in America were the subjects of pamphlets both in England and in this country. The last pamphlet from England was therefore eagerly read by all who were interested in the political world. These young men advanced and remitted to London £10 sterling as a fund to purchase such pamphlets as had already appeared during the current year, acting at first under a mere verbal agreement and without a name. From this small beginning they soon perceived the great advantages there might be if this scheme was enlarged and prosecuted with spirit. Find-

ing themselves alone unequal to the plan, they invited others to associate with them and were soon joined by other lovers of books and encouragers of science. A public library was projected, the idea met with great applause, and was countenanced by the first people of the place, who became members of the infant society, extending its plan to endowing an academy to encourage men of literature to reside among them, and to instruct the youths in the several branches of a liberal education. Before the end of the year—on the 28th December—rules for the organization of the Society were ratified and signed, when the name of the Library Society was assumed; arrangements were at once made for the acquisition of books as well as of pamphlets. There was some delay in obtaining a charter, which required the royal assent; the vessel in which it was sent from England falling into the hands of the French. This delay of eighteen months appears to have been considered very prejudicial to the enterprise. Great store was set upon a charter as a means of enforcing its rules and preserving its books.

The arrival of the charter at length gave new life to the Society. His Excellency, Governor Lyttleton, became a member. Thomas Smith was the first president, and Daniel Crawford succeeded him in 1757. In 1758 Governor Lyttleton was made president, and from that time the Governor or the Lieutenant Governor, in the absence of a Governor, was the president, with the exception of Governor Boone. Thus Lieutenant Governor Bull was president from 1761 to 1768; the colonists refusing to have any association with Governor Boone. Lord Montague was president in 1768-1769, and Lieutenant Governor Bull again to the Revolution. Daniel Crawford, Benjamin Smith and Peter Manigault—the two latter Speakers of the Commons—were vice presidents. The Society was thus closely connected with the Government, but it followed the popular sentiment. Thus we find Boone's personal unpopularity excluded him from the presidency; nor could Lord Montague be re-elected after the troubles of non-importation had begun. The Society was the centre of the intelligence, education and culture of the people. The library was burnt in 1778. It then contained between 6,000 and 7,000 volumes.

#### THE TRUTH AS TO CAROLINA SCHOOLS.

Upon the overthrow of the Proprietary and other establishments of the Royal Government the first Governor sent out was the eccentric, but liberal, Sir Francis Nicholson. Before his connection with the province he had made a contribution to the Provincial Library in 1712, and he now brought with him instructions for the encouragement of schools. Dr Ramsay unfortunately made a statement that there was no grammar school in South Carolina prior to 1730, except the free school in Charleston; that from 1730 till 1776 there were no more than four or five, and all in or near Charleston. This statement of Dr Ramsay was and has been seized upon as the basis of the gravest charges of ignorance on the part of the colonists of South Carolina. Prof McMaster, in the first volume of his history of the United States, published in 1883,

has enlarged upon and misquoted it to the great disadvantage of our people.

"In the Southern States," he says, "education was almost wholly neglected, but nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina. In that colony, prior to 1730, no such thing as a grammar school existed. Between 1731 and 1776 there were five. During the Revolution there were none. Indeed," he continues, "if the number of newspapers printed in any community may be taken as a gauge of the education of the people, the condition of the Southern States, as compared with the Eastern and Middle, was most deplorable. In 1775 there were in the entire country thirty-seven papers in circulation. Fourteen of them were in New England, four were in New York and nine in Pennsylvania; in Virginia and North Carolina there were two each; in Georgia one; in South Carolina three. The same is true of to-day."

#### McMASTER'S SLANDERS NAILED.

As a citizen of the State, then but ordinarily informed upon the subject, I undertook to reply to this gross slander upon our people, and was enabled at once not only to expose Prof McMaster's misquotation of what Dr Ramsay did write, but from materials immediately at hand to refute the charge and to show that Dr Ramsay himself was mistaken. I was able to show that at the close of the Revolution there were certainly eleven public, three charitable grammar schools, and eight private schools; that is, twenty-two schools in the twenty-four parishes and districts into which the State was then divided. Since that time I have pursued the subject, and in addition to other sources of information I have had the *Gazettes* searched, and am now able to present the following statement:

During the time when Prof McMaster states that no such thing as a grammar school existed in the province, i. e., prior to 1730, there was a free school in connection with St Philip's Church, in which the Rev William Guy taught, from 1711 to 1728, then Mr Thomas Morrett in 1728, and then Mr John Lambert in 1729. There was another free school at St James, Goose Creek, in which Mr Benjamin Dennis had collected a good number of pupils in 1710, and taught until the school was broken up by the Indian war in 1715. To this school the Rev Richard Ludlam, when he died in 1728, bequeathed his estate, some £1,000 currency. In 1721 Richard Beresford devised and bequeathed a large estate for the support of the schoolmasters of St Thomas and St Dennis. In 1720 Mr James Child, laying out a projected town on the western branch of Cooper River, called Childsbury, now Strawberry, gave one square for a "college or university," £400 and a lot for a free school and house, and in 1725 Mr John Whitmarsh left a legacy of £1,000 for the master of a free school in St Paul's Parish, and in 1730 Elias Horry devised a tract of land, containing 750 acres, to be sold and the proceeds of sale to be appropriated to the creation and perpetual endowment of a charity school in Prince George's Parish. These were free or public grammar schools, but Lawson, as we have seen, stated that at the time he wrote, 1708, the colonists had "ingenious people of most sciences" among

them, "that educated their youth a la mode," that is, in private schools.

#### MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED TEACHERS.

But the interest which the colonists of South Carolina took in educational matters, and the number of the teachers and schools in the province, appears infinitely greater from a perusal of the *Gazettes* from 1733 to 1774, than by the showing I was enabled to make when I wrote, in 1882. During these forty years I have the record of more than four hundred advertisements relating to schools and school-masters, and from these it appears that instead of the five schools only which Prof McMaster states existed in the province, there were more than two hundred persons engaged in teaching. These were day schools, evening schools and boarding schools, schools for boys and schools for girls. A knowledge of English, Latin and Greek could be obtained at any time after 1712. French and music were taught constantly after 1733. Advertisements for teaching Italian appear in 1764, for Spanish in 1767 and Hebrew in 1769. "A young German of undeniably character" gives notice in 1770 to "the nobility and gentry and public that he can teach grammatically French, High Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and Latin." In instrumental music lessons were given upon the harpsicord, spinnet, violin, violoncello, guitar and flute. There were schools for fencing for the boys and for needlework and embroidery for the girls. The teachers were almost all from England, many of them clergymen and masters of arts. There were many female teachers for the girls. Several of them came from London. Elizabeth Duneau, from England, "who," as she advertises, "has brought up many ladies of rank and distinction," and "has kept one of the genteelst boarding schools about London," proposes, in 1770, to open a boarding school for young ladies, in which she will teach grammatically the French and English languages, geography, history and many instructing amusements to improve the mind," besides all kind of fashionable needle work, and will provide good teachers in drawing, music, dancing, writings and arithmetic. Linners advertises to teach drawing as early as 1736, and dancing was constantly taught from 1734. In this year a dancing school is opened, in which the Master, Mr Henry Holt, lately arrived in the province, advertises that he has been taught by the most celebrated master in England, and danced a considerable time at the play house.

#### TIDDLEDY-IDDLEDY-RUM-TI-TUM.

In 1760 Nicholas Valois gave notice that he continues to teach dancing and that he has received from London "forty of the newest country dances, jiggs, rigadoons, etc, by the best masters in London, which he proposes to teach." The next year he advertises a ball which he will give to his scholars, and will open the ball by dancing a minuet with one of them. There were two other famous dancing schools, each of which gave balls to their pupils. Ramsay tells us that great attention was paid to music and that many arrived at distinguished eminence in the science. The advertisements in the *Gazette* fully sustain this statement. In 1739 a per-

son, lately arrived, proposes to teach "the art of psalmody, according to the exact rules of the gamut in all the various measures, both of the old and new version." Similar advertisements continue to appear. The organists of St Philip's Church added to their salaries by teaching music.

In addition to the schools there were lectures upon educational subjects. In 1739 Mr Anderson lectures on natural philosophy. In 1752 Mr Evans gave two courses of lectures on philosophy. He lectured every day, Sundays excepted. In 1754 Robert Skidday, A. B., gave a course of lectures on natural philosophy, viz. astronomy, mechanics, hydrostatics and optics. October 31, 1748, Samuel Dornien announces in the *Gazette* that, having in his travels in Europe studied and made wonderful experiments in electricity, he proposes to show the surprising effects thereof at Mr Blythe's Tavern, in Broad street, during the hours from 3 to 5 in the afternoon of Wednesday and Friday, and when desired will wait on ladies and gentlemen at their houses to show the same. "Each person admitted to see the same to pay 20¢, who also may be electrified if they please."

#### 132 YEARS BEFORE THE TROLLEY CAME.

Again in 1765 Mr William Johnson advertises to give a course of lectures on "that instructive and entertaining branch of natural philosophy called electricity." The course was to consist of two lectures, in which all the properties of that wonderful element, as far as the latest discoveries have made us acquainted therewith and the principal laws by which it acts, were to be demonstrated in a number of curious experiments, many of which were entirely new. Among many other particulars Mr Johnson proposed to show that the electric fire commonly produced by friction of glass and other electrical substances is not created by that friction, but is a real element or fluid body diffused through all places in or near the earth, and that our bodies contain enough of it at all times to set a house on fire. In his second lecture this fire was to be shown to be real lightning, with many curious experiments representing the various phenomena of thunder storms.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NEWS-PAPERS.

Fortunately for the people of South Carolina Prof McMaster, in his zeal to establish their ignorance, appeals to the number of newspapers as a gauge of the education of a people, and by this criterion he declares that the condition of the Southern people, in comparison with the Eastern and Middle, was most deplorable. For when we come to test the education of the people of the colonies by this measure we find in the colonies of which we have an estimate of population the ratio of newspapers to the number of the people as follows: New Hampshire had one paper to 82,200, Massachusetts one paper to 50,285, Connecticut one paper to 49,340, Pennsylvania one paper to 36,666, while South Carolina had a paper to every 20,000. In the whole country it was found

that the average population to support one paper was 64,575. In South Carolina 60,000 people supported three newspapers, or one to every 20,000. In other words, the people of South Carolina in proportion to their numbers supported more than one and a half as many newspapers as Pennsylvania, two and a half as many as Massachusetts and Connecticut each, and four times as many as New Hampshire. By Prof McMaster's own test South Carolina was far the most highly educated colony in America.

#### CHARLESTON'S NEWSPAPERS FROM 1732.

A very nearly complete file of these Gazettes from 1732 is preserved in the Charleston Library, and form a rich mine of historical information. A Gazette had always a column or two of news from Europe—the doings of the Court and proceedings in Parliament. It had a page or two of advertisements of all kinds, shipping lists, etc. There was always short local paragraphs, in which are preserved most interesting items of personal and local history, sometimes invaluable in fixing definitely and decisively disputed dates. In these are notices of births, deaths and marriages. In announcing a marriage it was the custom to make some complimentary remark upon the bride: "She was a young lady of great beauty and blessed with the most valuable accomplishments."

\* \* \* "A lady of celebrated beauty and merit, and endowed with every qualification that can render the nuptial state a happy one," etc. Sometimes her fortune was mentioned. Then there were moral and social essays, after the model and style of those in the Spectator and Rambler, all in the most approved Johnsonian periods. All political subjects were discussed in the Gazettes. During the excitement over the non-importation agitation the letters on this subject were often very bitter. The celebrated discussion between Christopher Gadsden and William Henry Drayton was carried on in this way—the old patriot not hesitating to inflict seven or eight columns of his wrath at a time upon his youthful but accomplished adversary, in a style rambling and confused, but somehow always hitting his mark. Commissary Garden takes a hand in the heated discussion upon the subject of the treatment of smallpox. The question of inoculation is discussed; whether it is not tempting the wrath of God in thus claiming to anticipate the dread disease. There were but few editorials. But Timothy in the South Carolina Gazette was always warring against the importation of negro slaves, because of the danger from their increasing number in proportion to the whites. Wells, of the American General Gazette, was early accused of lukewarmness to the patriot cause, an accusation which was confirmed by his going over to the British when they

took the city, and his paper becoming the Royal Gazette.

#### INTERCOURSE WITH ENGLAND.

A marked difference between the people of South Carolina and those of the other colonies was in their intercourse with England. Prof McMaster tells us that as late as 1755 a gentleman, who had been abroad, was pointed out in the streets, even in large cities, with the remark: "There goes a man who has been to Europe." There were few gentlemen in South Carolina who had not been to Europe. With the accumulating wealth of the province it became the fashion after 1750, if not before, to send the children of the opulent to England for their whole education. Many of the young men who came into public life just before the Revolution spent the whole of their youth in England or Scotland, first at Eaton or some other school, and then at Oxford or Cambridge. Thus it was that Chief Justice Pinckney, when removed from the Bench to give place to Mr Peter Leigh, for whom the ministry of England had to provide in reward for doubtful services, and sent as the agent of South Carolina to London, took with him his two young sons, Charles Cotesworth and Thomas, and William Henry Drayton. Mr Ralph Izard took up his residence in England for the education of his children, and left them there at school. Besides these Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heyward, Thomas Lynch, Jr, three of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, were sent to England for their education, the fourth signer, Edward Rutledge, also going there to study law. Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, Henry Laurens, John Laurens, Gabriel Manigault, Peter Manigault and William Wragg were also educated in England. Before and after the Revolution, says Hugh S. Legare in a note to his essay on classical learning, many, perhaps it would be more accurate to say most, of the youth of South Carolina of opulent families were educated in English schools and universities. There can be no doubt, he adds, that their attainments in polite literature were very far superior to those of their contemporaries at the North, and the standard of scholarship in Charleston was consequently much higher than any other city on the Continent.

#### FAVORITE ENGLISH PACKETS.

The merchants of Charleston went constantly to England to order their goods. The people of means, whether for business or pleasure, were continually coming and going between London and Charleston. A voyage usually took from six to eight weeks. For some years prior to the Revolution the favorite packets were the Beaufain, Capt Daniel Curling, the London, Capt Alexander Curling, and the Little Carpenter, so named after the Indian chief. But Capt Daniel Curling was the favorite of all. It was slow, but con-



sidered sure, and could obtain freight while other vessels were idle, and its cabin was preferred by all who wished to cross or recross the Atlantic. It seldom sailed without a full company of Carolinians.

#### EDUCATIONAL BENEFACTORS.

The colonists of South Carolina were liberal and public-spirited. Of this there is abundant evidence. From the preamble to the Act of 1710, establishing the free school, we learn that several charitable and well disposed Christians by their last wills and testaments had already given several sums of money for the founding of that school. Then had followed the Ludlam devise and the Beresford bounty fund. Then the Childs devise and bequest. The Ludlam bequest was liberally added to by subscription for the school at Goose Creek. Dr Dalcho, writing of the year 1728, says the desire for the education of the rising generation was now generally felt through the province. Many pious persons had bequeathed portions of their estates for this benevolent purpose, and many contributed largely by their subscriptions. In St Paul's Parish a considerable sum was raised for founding a free school for the education of the poor, for which purpose John Whitmarsh bequeathed a legacy of £1,000, and Mr Horry left by his will a tract of land of 750 acres, as we have mentioned. The old St Philip's Church, which was built during the Proprietary Government, and which Edmund Burke described as "spacious, and executed in a very handsome taste, exceeding every thing of that kind which we have in America," as well as St Michael's, built some thirty years later, and which is still famous for the beauty of its steeple, were both built not only by funds derived from taxation, but largely from private subscription. St Michael's bells, now so famous, were purchased by public subscription.

#### GAVE MONEY TO NORTHERN COLLEGES.

It will probably astonish Prof McMaster to be told that South Carolinians subscribed largely to the founding of the university in which he was formulating his charge of their gross ignorance and deplorable lack of interest in education.

But such is undoubtedly the fact. The story is an interesting one, and, though it is so late, I must briefly tell it. The habit was, as we have stated, to send the young men of Carolina to England for their education. But the differences with the mother country warned our people of the necessity of providing for the higher education of their sons at home. "Carolinacus," writing in the Gazette of November 9, 1769, during the discussion of the non-importation agreement, calls attention to the great sums of money annually remitted to England to maintain the children there, and urges the example of our Northern provinces in educating their

youths at home. Lieutenant Governor Bull, absolutely opposed, as he himself was, to the non-importation agitation, seized upon the occasion, however, to take up the subject. On the 30th January, 1770, he sent to the Assembly a special message, a very elaborate and able paper, in which he urged more liberal provision for the masters of the free schools, and beyond that went on to advise the establishment of a college.

In pursuance of this recommendation a bill was drawn "for funding, erecting and endowing public schools, and a college for the education of the youth of the province;" a considerable part of this bill is in the handwriting of John Rutledge. A board of trustees, of which the Governor and Speaker of the Commons were to be ex-officio members, to be called "the trustees of the College of South Carolina," was to be appointed. There was to be a president, who should be professor of divinity at a salary of £350 sterling per annum; a professor of the civil and common law and of the municipal laws of the province, with a salary of £200 sterling; a professor of physics, anatomy, botany and chemistry, £200; a professor of mathematics and of natural and experimental philosophy, £200; a professor of history, chronology and modern language, £200. To John Rutledge is usually attributed the credit of having made the suggestion of this college from the fact that the bill was mostly in his handwriting; but the message of Lieutenant Governor Bull clearly indicates that he was the author of this attempt to provide a plan for higher education in the colony, though no doubt he had John Rutledge's hearty co-operation. But the attention of the people was not to be diverted from the political controversy. They were all aflame on account of the non-importation agreement and could think of nothing but the meetings and doings under the Liberty Tree.

#### TWO SOLICITORS FOR NORTHERN COLLEGES.

While Governor Bull could not induce the General Assembly to forego the dispute with the Royal Government sufficiently to attend to the matter of the promotion of colleges for higher education, the Northern colonies saw the opportunity of raising funds for the support of their institutions and availed themselves of it. The Gazette of the 15th February, 1770, announced: "We have now here no less than two solicitors for benefactions to colleges in Northern colonies, viz: The Rev Hezekiah Smith, who collects for one intended to be established in Rhode Island and Government, the president whereof always is to be a Baptist and the majority of the trustees of the same profession; the other, the Rev — Caldwell, who has met with great success in gathering for that established in Princeton, in New Jersey, and we are told if this continues we may expect annual visits for the support

of those foundations. Surely if we can afford this, we ought not to delay procuring an establishment here for the benefit of our posterity." Two years later, March 26, 1772, the Gazette announces: "The Rev Doct William Smith, we are assured, has collected not less than one thousand pounds sterling in the short time he has been here by donations for the use of the college, an evident proof of how liberally and readily the inhabitants of this province would contribute to promote so necessary and desirable an establishment among themselves.

#### OVER £1,000 STERLING FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

In the minutes of the board of trustees of the College of Philadelphia—now University of Pennsylvania—in which Prof McMaster wrote his charge of the ignorance of South Carolina, there is an order of date April 15, 1772, "that the names of the several gentlemen who so kindly contributed towards the college in collections made for the same in South Carolina be inserted in the book as a perpetual testimony of the obligation which this seminary is under to them." The list is headed by Lieutenant Governor Bull himself with a contribution of £150 South Carolina currency, Henry Middleton £350, Thomas Smith £350, Gabriel Manigault £700, Miles Brewton £275, Charles Pinckney £147, Christopher Gadsden £140, Thomas Ferguson £350, and so on, almost every man in the colony of any prominence contributing, and making up a sum equivalent to £1,061 10s 1d sterling. The people of South Carolina thus contributed to the establishment of three of the great institutions of learning in the country—Princeton, Brown University and the Pennsylvania University.

#### EARLY PROMINENCE IN MEDICINE.

In a paper by J. M. Toner, M. D., founder of the Jones lectures in Washington, published by the bureau of education in Washington, Dr Toner says: "The Carolinas from a comparatively early period furnished numerous valuable contributions to the literature of medicine and natural history, and for some years led all the States in the study of the natural sciences. In support of this Dr Jones refers to the early and successful introduction of the practice of inoculation at Charleston, to the writings of Drs John Lining, Lionel Chalmers, John Moultrie and Alexander Garden. He states that William Bull, the Lieutenant Governor, who was graduated at Leyden in 1731, was the first native American who received the degree of M. D. But this is a mistake, for George Smith, son of the Landgrave, took such a degree thirty-four years before—in 1700.

#### AN INTERESTING RECAPITULATION

The society of Charleston and of the colony was in a more developed condition than that of any city or colony in America.

There was in it more of city life. The next in this respect was Philadelphia. This will be recognized when we recall the following facts: The colonists of Carolina were the first to establish a public library, i. e., before 1700, and the second to found a subscription library, i. e., in 1748; the first subscription library being the Philadelphia Library, 1730-1742. The library at Harvard, 1632, having been originally but a clergyman's library, given to the college, and in no sense a public library; no more so than the parochial libraries established by the Act of 1704 in this colony. They were the second to establish a quarantine for preventing the spreading of contagious diseases, i. e., 1698—the first quarantine was in Massachusetts in 1648—the third in Pennsylvania, 1649. The colonists of Carolina were far in advance of any other colony in their code of laws, general and colonial, adopted in 1712. They were among the very first to establish free schools, i. e., in 1710-12. The people of Charlestown were the first in America to establish a theatre, i. e., in 1735, the next being that in Philadelphia in 1749. They were the first to form a fire insurance company, i. e., in 1735; the next being in Philadelphia in 1752. They were the second only to attempt provision for the insane, i. e., 1762; the first being in Philadelphia in 1752. The first two native American graduates in medicine were South Carolinians. South Carolina led all the colonies in the sciences. The music of the St Cecilia Society was the first to be heard in America. Her agriculture, i. e., of rice and indigo, was the most scientific in the country, the former demanding hydraulic engineering upon a large scale, the evidence of her immense system of internal drainage still remaining alike in the great ditches and canals found in the inland swamps and upon the pages of the statute books of the time; the latter requiring the closest observation and following of chemical operations in the preparation of the dye, after the plant had been successfully grown. Judged by the standard of the number of newspapers the colonists of South Carolina were the most educated people in America; having more newspapers in proportion to their numbers than any other colonists; more than twice as many as in New England.

Diaries were frequently kept. One by the wife of a merchant, which has been preserved, contains a record of births, deaths and marriages of the friends of the writer. Guests arriving, occasionally breakfasting and frequently dining, supping or taking tea—all of whom are named—are numerous—Governors Glen and Lyttleton, with other guests, dining with the family. Governor Boone does not appear in the diary. Attendance at private and assembly balls, and at plays, with lists of plays performed. Attendance on Whitefield's preaching; sitting for a portrait by Theus. Arrival of troops,

marching of troops, officers' balls. Rejoicing for the captures of Cape Breton and Quebec. No dinners to Governors after 1779, when the troubles with the mother country had become serious, though Lord William Campbell was connected with the family.

#### MRS RAVENEL'S EXCELLENT WORK

But we are still more fortunate in having a most extraordinarily valuable and entertaining picture of social and domestic life in South Carolina during the period from 1737 to the Revolution in Mrs Ravenel's volume, entitled "Eliza Pinckney," recently published by the Scribners in their series of the women of Colonial and Revolutionary times. This most charming book is based upon a number of hitherto unpublished letters written by and to Mrs Pinckney, and depicting in great detail and with an indescribable charm the manners, customs and mode of life of her day—thus having a decided historical as well as intimate personal interest.

#### A NORTHERN LOYALIST'S VIEWS.

J. F. D. Smyth, a Loyalist of Philadelphia, who travelled over the country immediately after the Revolution, and whose statements must be taken with caution, as he was much prejudiced, but the general truthfulness of whose picture of the state of society and manners of the people of the colonies has been fully recognized, describes the planters and merchants of South Carolina as well bred, the people showy and expensive in their dress. Everything conspired to make Charlestown the liveliest, the pleasantest and the politest place, as it is the richest, in all America. The large fortunes, he says, that have been acquired in the city from the accession and circulation of its trade must necessarily have had great influence on the manners of the inhabitants, for of all the towns in North America it is the one in which the conveniences of luxury are most to be met with. Says another, a more recent writer, the planters were travellers, readers, scholars; the society of Charleston compared well in refinement with that of any city of its size in the world, and English visitors long thought it the most agreeable in America.

The merchants of Charlestown, unlike those of New England, were prospering and contented, and the planters in South Carolina were growing rich, but the very wealth of the province bore with it the seeds of dissatisfaction. While the merchants themselves were busy in their trade, and the planters with their ever-increasing crops, they cared little for the spoils of office, which were enjoyed by the placemen whom the lords of trade in England were now sending out to fill the best places in the province, still they had begun to think that with their wealth the highest honors of the province should be open to them. Josiah Quincy records that he heard several of them say: "We, none of us, when we grow old can expect the honors of the State; they are all given away to worthless, poor sycophants." The young men returning home were more restless under the condition of affairs. For twenty-five or thirty years before the Revolution, as we have seen, the Carolinians had been sending their sons to Europe for education, and these, coming home, accomplished and highly educated men, many of whom had been admitted to the highest circles in England, and filled with ambition, were not content to see incompetent and sometimes vulgar and insolent strangers filling the places for which they felt themselves equal, and to which they considered they had a right to aspire. The cases of Lieutenant Governor Bull and of Chief Justice Pinckney were warnings to them that native character and ability were of no account when places were to be found in the colonies with which the ministry might reward party services at home. Coming from Westminster, where they had been accustomed to see Mansfield and Camden presiding, they turned with disgust from the Court in which Skinner, the buffoon, sat and disgraced the Bench. The seat in Council and on the Bench, where their fathers and grandfathers had sat, bringing to the service of the Crown, without reward, wisdom and ability and the most devoted loyalty were now filled by henchmen, who had come over to Carolina for the sake of a few paltry pounds. This was the canker which had begun to sap the loyalty of the people of Carolina.















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